34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

174 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shoes." The *maču* whom the informant thought must be horses are clearly he-mules (Spanish: *macho*). The *mua* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are she-mules (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the sixteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *ai apači*, although he thought it was possible.

175 648 From 1599 to 1870, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the sixteen-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

175 648 72 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Paute region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[23] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1837, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[24]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites. As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguasa region.

Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier